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Our Island Problems

OUR ISLAND PROBLEMS.

KEEP THEM ALL.

The current of a nation's history is marked by curious and uncertain rates of progress. At times it rolls along smoothly and without interruption for a generation. Again, without apparent warning, the stream of history breaks into a tempestuous flood. Old ways are obliterated, old landmarks are ruthlessly torn from their ancient moorings and swept away never to be seen again of men. When the tide recedes, the citizen gropes in vain for the cherished objects which he and his ancestors had venerated in the past.

In such manner has the swift progress of history during the past twelve months swept away absolutely and beyond recovery many time-honored ideals of political life and action once held by the people of the United States. Overwhelmed and bewildered by the splendid progress of the Spanish war, the citizen suddenly finds himself face to face with new aspects of political life and action that this contest has pressed immediately to the front.

In the solution of new and weighty questions of the hour, the citizen can no longer trust to the traditions of the past. He must take new bearings in view of the new political landscape in which he finds himself.

In making the decision as to our Colonial Policy he must consider not the traditions of the past, but the history of the future.

In what condition does the Nation and the individual find itself to decide upon these momentous questions?

OUR PHYSICAL SUPREMACY.

The American citizen finds himself today a member of a nation which has developed naturally, symmetrically and enormously as race inheritance and a superb physical environment has dictated from the first. In mere material progress the advance of the Nation has far exceeded the wildest dreams that might have been based upon the most extravagant standards of the past. In a single century of national existence the Nation has covered practically the same ground that other peoples have painfully traversed in the progress of a thousand years.

Without undue pride, the American people should today clearly realize that the United States is far and away the most powerful nation the history of the world has seen.

In population, in intelligence, in the accumulated wealth, which makes for success in peace or war, this nation far outranks in effective power any single nation of the ancient or modern world. The mere existence of 70,000,000 intelligent people, living harmoniously under one accepted government; seated securely in the single largest area of fertile land upon the globe; of a blood either inherited or assimilated, embodying the best virtues of a race that has made history for a thousand years; safe from all attack; abundantly prolific; pacific by disposition, yet of abounding self-respect—these and other characteristics of this people present a spectacle of national unity and power that should make every American citizen proud of his race and land.

It should fill him with a just sense of the responsibility resting upon him as a member of the race that has heretofore, and must hereafter, shape the history of the world.

Nor alone in intellectual and material strength does this nation outrank any Civilization of past or present times. Its moral strength is of a stamp and vigor that renders doubly effective the resources of land and intellect.

This combination of physical resources, vast population and moral vigor, united in a new race whose veins are filled with clean, fresh blood—unlike the Latin peoples now tottering to the grave—present a phenomenon which the worn peoples and tyrannical governments of the European continent will do well to consider in their lawless and arbitrary division of the Eastern world.

With a full knowledge of our preponderance; with a desire to mould our policy according to what has been considered right and moral among the best Civilizations of the past; above all, with a firm faith in the German-Anglo-Saxon Civilization as representing the best conception of Government and Morals that history presents—with these things in view should the American citizen approach the duty of the hour.

OUR HISTORIC VIEWS OF AMERICAN DESTINY.

A people that has hitherto attended strictly to its own affairs, and studiously remained within the limits of its own continents, the United States is today called upon to arrange the destinies of three different peoples in three different quarters of the globe. Happy, for an entire century, in the universal belief that that the nation would never extend its boundaries beyond its own continent, the United States finds

itself to-day the embarrassed owner of colonies of whose acquisition its people had never dreamed.

Foreign nations, judging our Civilization by its own, can never be convinced that we had not cleverly planned the acquisition of these islands beyond the sea. Happily, our own preponderance and the knowledge of our own integrity may render us totally indifferent to what these foreign nations think or do not think.

In solving the problem of our colonial domains, we are accountable to ourselves alone.

HAWAII.

Proceeding in due order, it may be said that our first foundling was clearly a case of Manifest Destiny, long thwarted in her efforts. The Hawaiian civilization of today is a product of American hand and brain that has been at work in this outlying island for fifty years. The trade of Hawaii is largely American. Her industries, material resources and accumulated wealth are almost wholly the result of American enterprise. But for American civilization Hawaii would be to-day a howling cannibalistic isle, or a European non-productive colony, under the iron heel of military law.

Hawaii is the key which, in the hands of any other nation, may at any time unlock the door to our Pacific coast. By every law of trade; by every demand of national safety; by every behest of Civilization and good government, this island should have been ours not five, but fifty years ago. That this splendid possession has now dropped into our lap—not in its crude immaturity—but as a fully perfected fruit, is not alone a tribute to the manifest destiny of our race. It happily removes the Hawaiian question from the realm of controversy. It is a fact accomplished and so accomplished that the most bitter foreign critics cannot gainsay our rights.

CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

By the same considerations that have finally made Hawaii a part of the United States, Cuba and Porto Rico should likewise have been ours half a century ago. That the inevitable destiny of our race has likewise cast these foundlings into our lap, almost without a struggle, is another proof that Mediæval bigotry and misrule shall not dominate the Western world. The future of these isles should be burdened with no great problems. Porto Rico is now a component portion of the United States. It is an island comparatively small, accessible and well supplied with military roads. There should be nothing serious to encounter beyond the inevit-

able friction that must follow the displacement of a semi-barbarous rule by civilized forms of government. Keep out the politicians and the carpet-baggers; give the island an economic industrial government and it will speedily merge into the body of the great republic.

The future of Cuba must differ somewhat from that of Porto Rico. In a moment of what now seems ill-gotten generosity, the nation pledged the world Cuba should be given self government of her own. The history of the past six months indicates too clearly that this isle is not yet ripe for absolute self-control and that her future cannot be safely placed at once in the keeping of her own inexperienced people. She must be slowly schooled to self-control, and must then be given a fair opportunity to show her capacity for self-rule under American supervision.

We may give Cuba the opportunity to govern herself but can we make the men fit to govern out of Spanish stock?

The ultimate future of this isle is foreordained. She will be given her chance to redeem herself. She will probably fail, as has almost every other Spanish-American people of the western hemisphere.

Cuba will then be merged into the United States, and her people will gradually melt into the Anglo-Saxon civilization, as did their kindred people in the Floridas, Texas and Louisiana.

THE PHILIPPINES.

The final parting of the roads comes upon the question of the Philippines. The other islands were component portions of North America, but temporarily detached. The Philippines bring us into another hemisphere; throw us into contact with questions and races, of whose existence we hardly knew a year ago.

Reducing the Philippine question to its lowest terms, its solution becomes more plain.

Prior to the war these islands belonged to Spain.

Where did she get them?

She discovered them some four hundred years ago, and has since mis-governed them by the sole right of superior power.

We destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manilla, not to secure these islands, but to protect our own Pacific coast. The surrender of Manilla carried the surrender of the islands, and the close of the war found them in our hands.

Not Desire, but Destiny, has thrust this burden on us.

The Philippines are now our own, first, by the universal law of war which permits the victor to absorb the spoils of the vanquished in such reasonable amount as shall compensate him for injury done and outlay

made. This is the lower law, accepted by the higher Civilized Nations of the continent, and which none of them have denied assent.

The Philippines are also ours, by that higher law, which justifies an advanced Civilization in crushing a despotic and vicious government and bestowing upon a suffering people the right to live a free and decent life.

They are ours by that inexorable law of nature that replaces the rack, the tax collector and the hangman with the schoolhouse, the township meeting and the Law.

IS EXPANSION UNCONSTITUTIONAL?

Next in order comes the claim put forth by many cloistered and learned folk that the acquisition of new territory is unconstitutional and against the traditions of the United States.

Is this so, and if so, what is the basis for this claim?

In the whole body of the Constitution there is no reference to the acquisition of new territory. There is nothing that can be construed to cover this contingency.

The argument that we cannot, therefore, annex new territory, has been largely based upon this lack of specific consent to such expansion. This objection is sophistical and totally contrary to common sense. The mere state of Sovereignty itself implies many acts and obligations not specified in the Constitution. They are the natural attributes of National Supremacy and are so manifestly bound up in the very fabric of the Constitution that they need no direct mandate in black and white.

The Constitution does not specifically provide that we defend ourselves if attacked. Nor does the Constitution, in terms, deny the right of Secession to a state which no longer desires to retain its place in the national union. Yet we have waged both defensive and offensive warfare when common sense demanded. We fought the greatest war in history to retain states which desired to secede yet no man can point to the constitutional mandate in black and white which authorized the coercion of the Southern States.

Yet neither of these acts of Sovereignty was more logical than is the retention of conquered territory thrust upon us against our will and in such a manner that it cannot be abandoned without a distinct moral wrong against Progress and Civilization.

Neither is there any precedent against expansion in our written or recorded law.

If so, where is it, who wrote it and where is it now concealed?

TRADITIONS FAVOR A WISE EXPANSION.

Still less do our alleged traditions offer any barrier to such wise and necessary expansions as are vitally necessary to our national safety and well being. On the contrary, the history of the United States is but the story of successive expansions, by which the necessities of increasing population has led us to absorb inferior races and to open new lands to Industry and Civilization. Our own English ancestry first drove out the Indian, and then the Dutch, and then the French. The very ancestors of these particular patriots who now raise the cry of Imperialism, were the first to drive the untutored savage out of New England, with a melancholy, but no less persistent zeal.

From the beginning of our national government we have lost no opportunity to extend our national domain. Thomas Jefferson, who had much to say about peace and various mixed theories of human rights, wasted scant time when the most favorable chance in history offered the territory of Louisiana to the United States. Thomas Jefferson abandoned theory on the spot, and for once consorted with common sense. In spite of frenzied opposition he bought Louisiana without the consent of Congress and upon his own responsibility. To-day, the civilization of 30,000,000, now resident in the Mississippi valley, justify and approve the wisdom of this act.

Without this enlightened purchase we should still be a second class nation, hemmed in by the Mississippi river and the Atlantic coast. Mexico or France or Spain would have occupied all that vast parallelogram between New Orleans, Lake Superior, Oregon and California.

In 1821 we absorbed the Floridas because they had become a common nuisance. They were misgoverned by Spain in the same shocking manner as she has misgoverned the West Indies and the Philippines. The Floridas were a menace to the prosperity and happiness of the civilized people who were endeavoring to live peacefully and decently by their side. Andrew Jackson wanted no rhetoric on this occasion. He seized the Floridas, and while we afterwards made payment for the same, this was done not as a matter of right, but as a sop to the outraged dignity of Spain.

In 1848 we absorbed the best portion of Mexico because our slaveholding rulers demanded more room to raise slaves and cotton and other things. This seizure of Mexican territory was a crudely brutal act. However base the means, the final result has been wholly desirable. It has opened up to Civilization a region which would otherwise have remained as bare and profitless as most of Mexico is to-day.

In 1850 we absorbed Oregon, partly because we had discovered it, but particularly because we needed it in our onward progress to the West. Nay, we were even at the point of war with England because we did not at the same time secure British Columbia, then a portion of the Oregon territory.

In 1865 we took the Gadsden Purchase to protect our own frontier.

In 1867 we took Alaska because it was cheap and a bargain and its purchase forever excluded the Russian empire from the American continent.

So far from our acquisitions weakening the Republic, they have really made it what it is to-day. Nearly half of our population is to-day resident in the acquired portion of the United States. More than half of our natural resources and future wealth will be found in such portions as we have annexed since we became a commonwealth. As a matter of fact, history shows our sainted fathers even more crudely acquisitive than ourselves, for they lived in a day when the strong invariably preyed upon the weak and nations seized whatever was unprotected and near at hand.

COMMERCIAL, STRATEGIC AND MORAL CONSIDERATIONS.

The Philippine question then resolves itself into a discussion upon the (1) Commercial, (2) Strategic and (3) Moral aspects of the case.

Will the accession of these islands increase the general prosperity of the United States?

Will they be of strategic value in the protection of our interests at home and in the eastern world?

Lastly, can we abandon them with safety to ourselves and with justice to the inhabitants of the islands?

A year ago the American people would have considered mad anyone who had suggested the possibility of acquiring territory in Asiatic waters. So fast has history moved, however, that to-day hardly a citizen can be found who feels assured that we should abandon the Philippines.

Commercially speaking, there can be no question that the Philippines would be of vast importance to the United States. Including 1,400 separate isles, lying almost wholly in tropic waters; stretching 800 miles from north to south; occupying more territory than all New England, these islands are a vast empire in themselves. They constitute a store of tropical and mineral wealth, such as now remains unexploited in no portion of the world. These islands produce spontaneously and almost without cultivation, nearly every single object of necessity and luxury which

we do not produce ourselves. They produce coffee, sugar, rice, hemp gutta percha, cotton, indigo and nearly every product of the tropical and semitropical zones. Notwithstanding an occupancy of 400 years Spain has explored only a small portion of the group. These islands are said to contain iron, gold and copper. It is also said that some of the outlying islands contain large deposits of coal. Such deposits, if existing, are of the very highest value. Aside from New South Wales and some half-worked lodes in China and Tonquin, there is little or no coal in the Far East. Such deposits alone would be justification enough, from a commercial point of view, to retain these islands.

Notwithstanding the semibarbarous government of the Philippine islands, which has hitherto crushed industry with all manner of taxes and extortions, the total value of the Philippine exports was nearly \$30,000,000 in 1897. As showing its latent possibilities, it may be said that the exports of the one small island of Java, near at hand, amounted in 1897, under the wise rule of Holland, to 225,000,000 guilders, or \$90,000,000.

Yet Java is no richer in natural resources, and is only one-half as large.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Turning to the political and strategic factors connected with the Philippines, we are confronted with the fact that the possessor of the Philippine islands to-day holds the key to the Eastern Question.

Reared in almost complete ignorance of the portentous problems now pressing for solution in the Far East, the people of the United States are not only plunged into this vexed and perplexing question, but its final solution is thrust unexpectedly and unceremoniously into our hands.

The Eastern Question in the Far East as well as in the West, is simply the question as to which of the European powers shall absorb the dying nationalities of the Orient. The past three hundred years in Asia is the history of the division of the national domain of the Malay, Hindoo and Mongolian races.

The Malays and Hindoos have already been absorbed. The Mongolian alone remain.

Hitherto the superior energies and colonizing powers of England have enabled her to acquire the lion's share. During this period France has always demanded compensation for England's gains, while Russia has quietly, but assiduously, chipped off fragments all along her vast frontiers, until to-day she threatens the very existence of the Mongolian empire. Spain, in her shame and weakness, has played no part in this cannibal-

istic feast for some two hundred years. Nominally possessing the richest colony in the East, she has only remained its owner because the other nations could decide upon no amicable division of her colonial domain.

THE ASIATIC EQUILIBRIUM UPSET.

Thus has the so-called equilibrium in the East been maintained by diplomatic "Accessions" and "Compensations" and "Realms of Influence" till the fateful day when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila bay. When the diplomats of Europe woke on May 4, they confronted the fact that their eastern mosaic had been broken into a thousand fragments.

Not alone did they find the cherished equilibrium shattered, upon which they had expended patient generations of diplomacy. They were further confronted with a new power in the East, whose approach had not even been remotely anticipated. The key to the situation had not only been taken from their grasp, but it had been unconsciously taken by a nation whose latent strength of resistance rendered useless any return to the conditions before existing.

Germany, bitterly disappointed in her share of the eastern spoils, had for some time looked upon the Philippines for "Compensation." During the preliminary controversies between Spain and the United States, Germany had ostentatiously and offensively sided with her European neighbor. She did this with her eye upon the Philippines. Her fleet was even then collected in eastern seas ready to back up Spanish claims if her safety and self-interest might so dictate. As prudence dictated otherwise, Germany has abstained thus far from anything more than a display of ill will and evil humor.

As for Russia, she had ardently desired to be left alone. She had engulfed China in a treaty by which she was gradually absorbing all Manchuria. Russia only desired undisturbed repose during the process of digestion. By a clever diplomacy she had gradually alienated the continental nations from England and all the Continent played cat's paw at the behest of St. Petersburg.

Japan still chewed the cud of bitter melancholy, because Russia had seized all the fruits of the Japanese victory in 1892. Yet Japan was powerless without allies to prevent the gradual absorption of China by her Russian guest. In the meantime, England, looking vainly for support, was not yet prepared to beard her Russian rival in the East. France, in her fond hope of protection against Germany, was still a tool of Russia and a mere pawn in the game of Russian diplomacy.

It was at this point that English prestige reached its nadir, and that Russian progress seemed destined to make all China a Russian province.

The battle of Manilla changed history in a night. An Anglo-Saxon nation, with strong but undeveloped ideas as to the duties of its race, has seized the key. The projected absorption and partition of the Chinese empire became an impossibility at once.

STRATEGIC STRENGTH OF THE PHILIPPINES.

While it is difficult for our people to realize that the seizure of these islands involve such vast interests in the East, a brief glance at the map will show the point at once.

The archipelago of the Philippines confronts the coast of Asia for nearly 800 miles.

It commands the coast of China, Tonquin, Cochin China and Annam, the Malay peninsula and the Polynesian isles.

Manilla is only 700 miles, or thirty-six hours from the English port of Hongkong. This is the port of the great city of Canton, and the outlet of the richest portion of the Chinese empire.

All the vast commerce of the Far East with Europe passes between Manilla and the port of our Anglo-Saxon kindred at Hongkong.

The Philippines are but a thousand miles from Japan, and this is no distance in the vast waste of the Asiatic seas.

The largest portion of the commerce of America with India, Singapore, Burmah, passes through these seas, and is commanded by our new acquisition.

In fact, Manilla is the one mid-point in the east where all the great lines of ocean traffic are held in sure command. The geometrical center of a vast circle, it is almost equi-distant from Peking, Tokio and Singapore.

It is the only available point in the east where France, Russia or Germany could have obtained desirable coaling and commercial stations without a struggle. It will be seen, therefore, that our position in the Philippines is fraught with possibilities that we have hardly commenced to grasp.

THE DESPOILING OF CHINA.

Yet another question of the greatest moment interjects itself. This touches upon the future of the Chinese empire.

Absorbed in our own affairs we have hitherto remained oblivious to the fact that we have neglected the greatest and most profitable markets of the world. One by one, great fragments of the East have been torn off

by foreign powers and shut to our legitimate commerce. Without a protest we have seen our commercial treaties violated, and have been ousted from our legitimate traffic in the East. Contented with our own and European markets, we have apparently overlooked the fact that the markets of 300,000,000 people are all but finally closed to the enterprise and energy of our people.

Now that Chance or Destiny has placed us in command of the situation, what do we propose to do about it?

Shall we abandon this vantage placed unconsciously in our grasp, or shall we make intelligent use of the great Godsend which has been thrust upon us?

Shall we, by the abandonment of the Philippines permit the gradual dismemberment of China among European powers, and the consequent loss of our Chinese trade; or shall we demand that this rich field be left open to the legitimate trade of all alike?

WE MUST HOLD THIS KEY.

Regardless of the perplexing details of this problem, can the patriotic American citizen hesitate for one moment in his decision?

The Philippines are ours by the right of war, to which civilized Europe gives consent. They are ours by the higher law that has thus given a helpless and wickedly governed people into our hands. Our flag now waves above the Philippines. In the interest of humanity and of enlightened self-interest, there should it remain until someone prove strong enough to pull it down.

While the retention of these islands is filled with vexed problems, these are nothing as compared with the momentous evils that would follow the abandonment of the islands.

What of the alternative?

If we do not take them, who will?

We could not abandon them to England or sell them to any other nation without universal war.

If the United States does not retain the Philippines they must go back to the insurgents. Were we now to leave them, their condition would be even more lamentable than under the corrupting rule of Spain.

New England senators may compare the mercenary Aguinaldo to Washington and Bolivar. They may continue to offer moral support against our arms and fleets. The people of the United States however will not believe that the man who has counseled wholesale slaughter of all foreigners on the island is a patriot nor a statesman, nor qualified to erect an independent government.

Neither will they surrender into the hands of Malay bowmen the lives of thousands of innocent Spanish people nor the millions of property whose security is dependent upon civilized and enlightened government.

If we are afraid to take the Responsibility, will History ever justify us in destroying the only system of Government these islands possessed and then abandoning them to the anarchy that must follow native attempts to govern?

Whether it be called Annexation, Autonomy or a Protectorate, the future of all these islands must be Anglo-Saxon—not Latin nor Malay nor Japanese.

While the natives of these islands will be given Liberty it must be Liberty on Anglo-Saxon lines. It will never be the License under which the Spanish-American Republics have mocked Republican Government for three-quarters of a century past.

HOLD ALL THE ISLANDS.

Do not all the arguments in favor of holding Manila as a coaling station apply equally well to the island of Luzon and the balance of the group?

Furthermore, will there not be much less friction with foreign powers if we at once take over the whole group as a legitimate spoil of war? Nor is there any danger that the alleged "powers" will actively interfere if we boldly and courageously stand by our rights. All of them have too many troubles of their own to actively antagonize the rising giant of the west, right on the threshold of his recent victory.

There may be diplomatic threats and murmurs, but no nation is in shape to actively resist the United States. Even if they do, the fleets of Japan and England are both at our command, and with this combination we control the world.

THE RUSSIAN PERIL.

Nor from a larger historical view, should our people overlook the fact that any action regarding the Philippines will affect for good or evil the whole future history of Democratic Government and the Anglo-Saxon race.

One hundred years ago Napoleon shrewdly remarked that the next century would see the world Cossack or Republican.

Since that day the colossal development of the Russian empire has threatened to engulf the entire Eastern world in its onward progress. The Latin race, now in decay, has ceased to play any material part in the

history of the world. The next century must develop the supremacy of the Germanic or Slavonic race.

There is no room for compromise.

The Civilization of America and Europe and the Germanic race, or the Civilization of Asia and the Slav must finally survive.

While we please ourselves with nursery traditions regarding the ancient friendship of Russia for the United States, it were little less than idiocy to believe that there can be any common unity between the extreme Despotism and the extreme Democracy of the age.

Russia represents ignorance, bigotry and slavery of mankind. She has placed her foot upon every germ that makes towards progress and individual freedom. She is diametrically opposed to every cherished theory that the Germanic peoples hold regarding Politics, Religion or the Law. She is the one great, inexorable, portentous enemy of modern progress and the Germanic race.

Having absorbed China, with 300,000,000 people at her command, what will then become of Europe?

It will be Asiatic and not Germanic.

And after Europe, what of America and the future of Free Government in the world?

A REAL PERIL.

It is difficult to impress upon Americans living in the security of their virgin land that they owe exact and certain duties to the future of Democracy and Civilization. History is but a story of the survival of the races and race ideas. Why should future history differ from the past?

If for no other reason, we should hold the Philippines intact to establish a permanent and impregnable barrier to the progress of Asiatic civilization in the world. England will shortly have to fight a decisive battle for the existence of European civilization in the East. While we need not become involved in actual war, we should give her all the moral assistance in our power.

This can be done in no better way than by holding the key to the East, which in other hands might be betrayed into the enemy of our race and culture.

VOICE OF THE WEST.

We, as a nation, have never yet failed to rise to the full compass and greatness demanded by the destiny of our race.

Why should we fail in this?

We will not fail. We are not a race that fails. Our forefathers encountered much vaster problems in the past, and shall we say that we are

unworthily to follow in their footsteps? Shall we shrink ignoble from the path plainly blazed out before us by our Destiny, and by our duties towards the human race?

While some closet thinkers of the Eastern coast may shrink with fear from these new problems, there is no apprehension for our future among the 50,000,000 people who fill the vast realm between the Alleghenies and the Pacific coast. The people who have wickedly "expanded" into the Mississippi valley, and have turned the Louisiana purchase, the Mexican Cession and the Oregons into the granary of the world are not perplexed with the intellectual fantasies which paralyze the overcultured intellect of the East.

Their thoughts and aspirations are American and not European.

From the first they believed fervently and ardently in the full righteousness of the war which has destroyed the last lingering tyranny of Spain in two quarters of the globe. Breathing the pure air of mountain ranges, vast plains and prairie lands, their convictions are a product of honest toil in forests and in field. They are not impregnated with those purely commercial considerations which have so often benumbed the natural humanity of the East. The people of the West, whose soldiery have born the brunt of the recent contest, both in Cuba and the Philippines do not propose that the blood of their sons shall have been shed in vain.

They do not propose that these two wars shall have been fought without a distinct and permanent gain to the cause of real Liberty and Good Government in this world.

The people of the western empire do not not propose to surrender back to barbarism a single foot of territory once reclaimed from bigotry and misgovernment.

Where American blood has once been shed and the American flag has once been raised, there they believe it should stay in spite of all the world.

Today the seat of empire resides not upon the Atlantic coast, but far inland, where the Mississippi and its tributaries wander towards the sea.

The West has not lived down the great migratory and civilizing instincts inherent in its blood. It voices these instincts in no uncertain terms. It does not fear the Future. Where the clear Destiny of the Race and Nation points, it does not fear to follow.

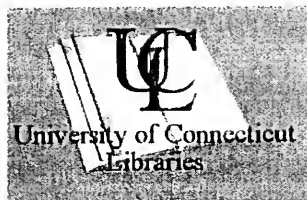
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W. D. WASHBURN, JR.

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